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ORGANIZED LABOR
IN THE
SOVIET UNION

by

EDWIN S. SMITH

Published by

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP, INC.

NEW YORK, 1943

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Note on Author

Edwin S. Smith, *the author of this pamphlet, was from* 1931 *to* 1934 *Commissioner of Labor and Industries in the State of Massachusetts. In* 1933 *he was sent by President Roosevelt as one of our special observers to the International Labor Conference in Geneva, Switzerland. He was appointed by President Roosevelt as a member of the first National Labor Relations Board which administered Section 7A of the National Industrial Recovery Act. He was twice appointed member of the present National Labor Relations Board, serving from* 1935 *to* 1941. *Later he was in charge of the CIO's campaign to organize oil workers and is presently Vice-Chairman and Executive Director of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.*

Author's Acknowledgement

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National Council of American-Soviet Friendship
232 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

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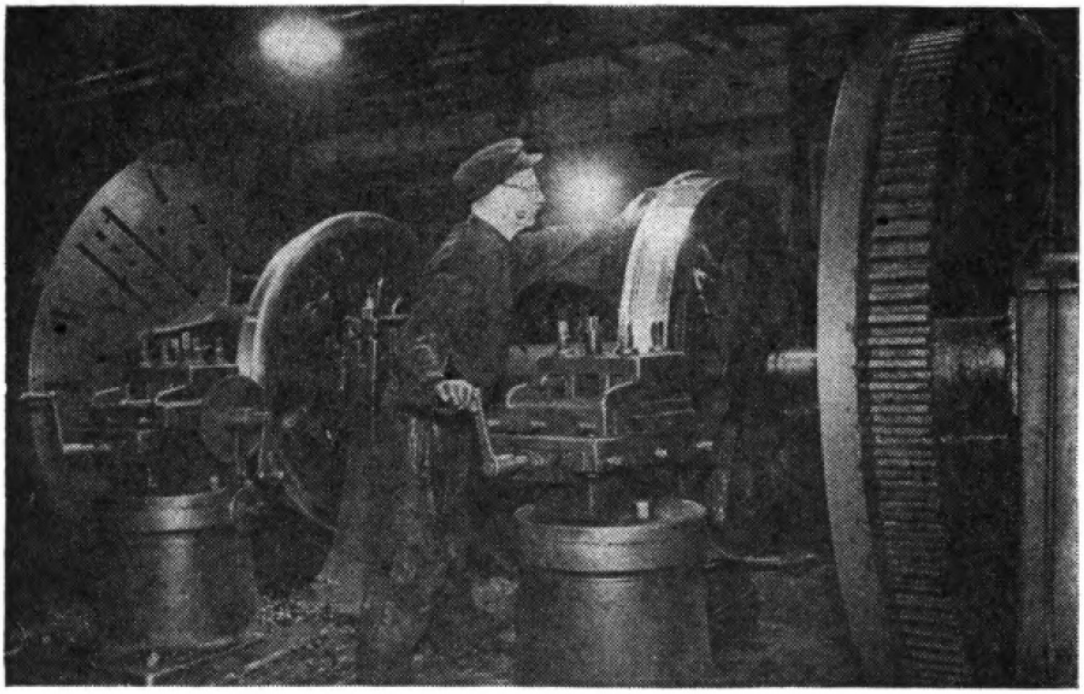
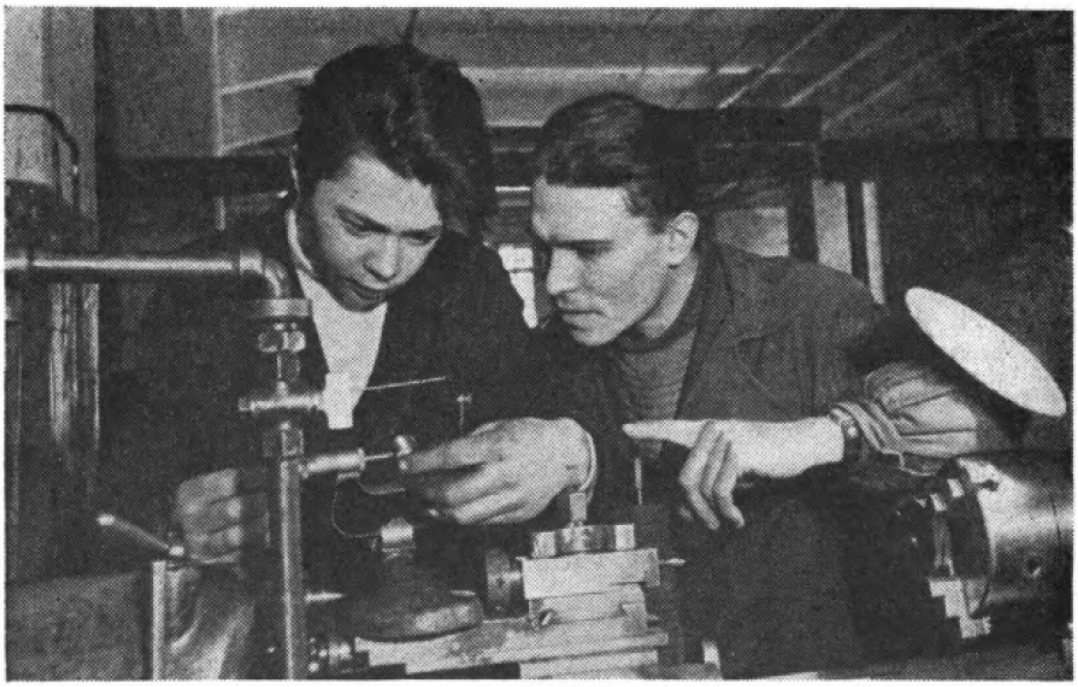
THE "OLD HAND" AND THE "YOUNG APPRENTICE" ON THE INDUSTRIAL FRONT



Sereguin, a turner employed at the Stalin railway workshop, has been operating this lathe for thirty years. He is 56 years old, but despite his age he exceeds his output quota by five times.



In the U.S.S.R. labor reserves are trained not only in various vocational schools but also right at factories where novices are taught by experienced workers and foremen. Foreman and apprentice at one Soviet aircraft plant.

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THE NEED OF ALLIED TRADE UNION UNITY

INTRODUCTION

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship believes it highly important that there should be the closest possible collaboration among the trade unions of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the other United Nations. We think such Allied Labor unity will speed victory over Hitler and have an equally important effect in shaping the peace and the kind of world that is to follow the war. As an immediate consequence of Anglo-American-Soviet trade union unity, one can imagine what increases of production in the three countries would accompany a constant interchange of information among their labor movements. One can equally well imagine the enthusiasm for the war effort that would follow the actual exchange of visits by labor leaders.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship exists in order to increase good-will, understanding and unity for the war effort and afterwards among all categories of persons in the Soviet Union and corresponding groups in our own country. Such good will, understanding and unity is needed most among the industrial workers of these two countries because on their shoulders rests the responsibility for making the materials which will be used to crush our common enemy, Hitler.

To promote greater coordination and unity of effort among the trade unionists of Great Britain and ourselves there was

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formed in the fall of 1941 an Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee. A delegation of British trade unionists went at once to Moscow to start the work of this committee. In the early part of the following year a delegation of Soviet trade unionists came to England and held talks with British trade union representatives and factory workers in a dozen large industrial centers in England and Scotland. A return visit was made by a British delegation to the Soviet Union and a Soviet delegation attended the British Trades Union Congress in September, 1943. Through these visits and by interim exchange of information the industrial war effort of both countries has been greatly stimulated.

Efforts have been made to broaden the Anglo-Soviet Committee to include trade unionists of the United States. The Congress of Industrial Organizations has officially endorsed such a step. So have the Railroad Brotherhoods. The American Federation of Labor has so far refused to enter into direct relationship with the Soviet trade unions, suggesting instead that the British trade unions represent them in this regard. Such an arrangement was not agreeable to the Soviet trade unions.

In September, 1943, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (AF of L) voted to join the Anglo-Soviet Committee, as did the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO and national unions). The CTAL, the Latin-American Federation of Labor, has expressed its desire to be included in a United Nations labor unity program. The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) at its convention in New York in September, 1943, voted to seek ties with the Amalgamated Engineering Union (Great Britain) and the Soviet Metal Workers Union. Only the A. F. of L. as a national labor organization in our own country so far holds aloof from the rising demand of organized labor throughout the United Nations to pool the resources

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of their experiences and intelligence in order to bring closer the day of the Nazis' defeat. However, a large number of A. F. of L. locals, central bodies, state federations and even some international unions have gone on record as favoring unity with the British and Soviet trade unions.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship cannot determine the means by which allied trade union unity, including the trade unions of the Soviet Union, is to be brought about. That is the affair of the unions themselves. However, by publication of this pamphlet we hope to make some contribution to the achievement of this goal.

An important barrier to the progress of unity moves with the Soviet trade unions has been the suspicion which certain American trade unionists entertain of them. The A. F. of L. fraternal delegate to the recent British Trades Union Congress termed the Soviet unions "organizations of the state." The charge has frequently been made by a minority of American unionists that the Soviet trade unions are creatures of the state and the equivalent of our own company unions. For this reason the National Council has assembled in this pamphlet, which is intended primarily for trade union members in the United States, authentic facts about the nature, methods of functioning and purposes of the Soviet trade unions.

Naturally there are bound to be points of difference between American and Soviet trade unions because of the different economic systems under which the two countries operate. That these differences are not such as to warrant the condemnatory statements made by certain American trade unionists seems clearly indicated in the following quotations from an address by Jack Tanner, fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress to the 1942 Convention of the A. F. of L. in Toronto. Mr. Tanner is the President of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the largest of the British trade unions.

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Mr. Tanner stated: "To say that the trade unions of Russia are nothing but appendages to the State machinery is to leave out of account the nature of the State and those interests its activities foster and serve. In our two countries, we cannot pretend that it is the workers' interests which will triumph in any issue, unless we put up a strong and organized fight. But there is no evidence to support the idea that in the Soviet Union, such a fight is necessary if the matter is one which concerns the well-being of the workers and, if it is not necessary, the organizations which in other countries and conditions would conduct such fights naturally assume a different character and take on different activities . . . There has been no time and effort wasted in having to reconcile the conflicts between private and national interests; there have been no practices which hinder output and, as was demonstrated by the moving of great industries to new areas behind the Urals, as is also by the heroic scorched earth policy, nothing has stood in the way of the Soviet war effort for which every man and woman feels 100 per cent responsible . . . It is not easy for workers who have themselves fought for or have been brought up in a tradition which has known what it is to fight for trade union recognition, to accept without some suspicion the conception of a trade union movement which is recognized as a vital part of the social community, whose functions are not basically different, but merely differentiated, from other activities tending to greater productivity and greater enjoyment of the wealth so produced by the community as a whole . . . In 1924, 1927 and again in 1933, delegations of trade unionists from Britain visited Soviet Russia, and on returning, all reported that the workers were owners and controllers of their country . . . It is only by realizing the full weight of that fact—the ownership of the means of production by the workers—that we can understand the relations of the trade union movement to the Soviet State."

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The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship is concerned in this pamphlet not so much with certain inevitable dissimilarities between our trade unions and those of the Soviet Union growing out of the differences between the economic systems of the two countries but rather with the similarities between them. We feel that readers of the pamphlet will be struck by the many and vital parallels between the Soviet unions and our own. If the Soviet trade unions emerge to the reader, after a study of the pamphlet, not as dominated, ineffective creatures of the state but as genuine and vitally important instruments for the promotion of the interests of Russia's industrial workers, the pamphlet will have served a useful purpose in assisting the move toward unity for the war effort, and in the post-war period, between American and Soviet trade unions.

Introduction to Second Edition

Two facts give the movement for allied labor unity the greatest immediate importance. 1. The conclusion of the Moscow and Tehran agreements makes it imperative that every element of our population, including labor, express wholehearted support of these documents, whose consequences for the war and for the future of the world are of such tremendous importance. American labor can only realistically express its support of the Moscow and Teheran agreements by joining with the labor movements of the other United Nations to demand that they be given full effect and not be allowed to become unfulfilled promises. 2. The General Council of the British Trades Union Congress has issued invitations to the labor organizations of the United States to take part in a conference in London in June, 1944, of the labor movements of the United Nations, including those of the occupied countries. It is of the greatest importance that the American Federation of Labor respond favorably to the invitation if the contribution of American labor to the cause of labor unity for winning the

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war and securing the peace is to be fully and emphatically expressed. For the A. F. of L. not to respond to the invitation could only give aid and comfort to the isolationists, defeatists and anti-Soviet groups in our country.—E. S. S., Jan., 1943.

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MEMBERSHIP IN SOVIET TRADE UNIONS

Growth of Unions

Q. Are there trade unions in the U. S. S. R.?

A. Yes. On the eve of the war, 25,500,000 workers belonged to the 191 uions. This respresented 84% of the number eligible to belong.

Q. Has union membership grown since the Soviets came into being in 1917?

A. Yes. The following table tells the story:

Year	*Union Membership*
1917	1,500,000
1924	6,000,000
1926	9,500,000
1930	13,000,000
1935	20,000,000
1940	25,500,000

Q. Is the workers' right to organize into labor unions protected by the Soviet government, as it is under our National Labor Relations Act?

A. Yes. The right to organize is guaranteed in the Soviet Constitution itself. The figures quoted above indicate that the Constitution means what it says. Article 126 reads:

"In conformity with the interests of the working people, and in order to develop the organizational initiative and political activity of the masses of the people, citizens of the USSR are ensured the right to unite in public organizations—trade

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unions, cooperative associations, youth organizations, sport and defense organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies."

Q. Do the workers have to belong to trade unions?

A. No, indeed. Just before the war, although Soviet trade unions numbered twice as many members as do those in the United States today, and had the largest membership of any country in the world, 16% of the workers remained unorganized.

Q. What made them stay out?

A. Nothing made them stay out, any more than anyone compelled them to come in. Since the Constitution guarantees the right to organize, it is illegal to attempt to keep workers out of unions. But there are no interests in the USSR opposed to labor organization. Those who don't belong simply are not yet convinced that they ought to. Generally they are people who have been farmers or housewives until recently and don't yet know the benefits of unionism.

Q. How has the war affected membership?

A. Most of the vast numbers of women and young people who have come into industry have joined the unions, but it has not been possible to sign them up as fast as they have come to work. Right now, for instance, the lumbering and building trades are only 60% organized, the polymetallic refining industry 67%, and the medium machine-building, 74%.

Attendance at Meetings

Q. Does the membership attend meetings, or is it merely on the books?

A. Since most of the pre-war leadership is now serving in the army, all unions held nation-wide elections to fill local union offices in the fall of 1942. Despite the long working hours and other hardships of wartime, 78% of all the union

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members in the country attended the local election meetings. That's a good average in any man's union.

Q. Is the membership active or passive?

A. At last reports, more than 5,000,000 union members were serving regularly on some committee or other. That is about one-fifth of the total membership, probably the highest proportion of active membership in any labor movement on earth.

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TRADE UNION STRUCTURE

Q. Are Soviet trade unions organized on industrial or craft lines?

A. On industrial lines. However, because the total membership is so huge, and the country itself so large, many of the industrial unions exist on a geographical basis. Thus, there is one Fishermen's Union for the Pacific fisheries near Vladivostok and another for the Atlantic near Murmansk.

Q. Do farmers belong to unions?

A. No, but 2 million agricultural workers on State-owned farms do belong.

Constitution

Q. Do the unions operate under constitutions?

A. Yes. In 1938, a sub-committee of a national conference of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, to which all the unions are affiliated, submitted a draft of a model Constitution for unions which it had been authorized to draw up, in order to establish a uniform scheme of organization taking the best from the experience of all unions.

Q. Did the rank-and-file have anything to say about this constitution?

A. Yes. After the draft had been amended by the conference, it was published for discussion by the entire trade union membership of the country, and the Constitutions in their present form are the direct result of this discussion.

Officers

Q. What officers do national unions have?

A. There is a Chairman, equivalent to our President, and several Secretaries. The All-Union Central Council of Trade

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Unions has a similar form of organization, and is now headed by three secretaries. These are Nikolai Shvernik, who is the number one man, Claudia Nikolaeva, and S. Bregman. Local unions have a similar list of officers.

Elections

How do these officers get their jobs?

A. All officers are elected at regular intervals. For an election to be valid 2-3 of the members must vote. Candidates for local office are nominated at general membership meetings. Candidates for higher office are nominated and elected by the delegates at the union's convention. The delegates themselves are elected by the mmbrship.

It was mentioned previously that 78% of the membership attended the nation-wide local election meetings last Fall. Because of the big draining off of the old leadership into the armed services, most of the executives elected last Fall were workers who had only been in industry for about a year and a half. More than 25% of the presidents of locals are now women, as are a third of the members of local executive boards. (Out of 37 major national unions, five are headed by women.) Wartime conditions bringing many young people into industry have resulted in a large increase in the number of younger persons holding union offices.

Q. Suppose the workers are dissatisfied with the officers they have chosen?

A. In case the membership is dissatisfied with officers between regular elections, new elections must be held on demand of one-third of the membership.

Locals

Q. Where does the rank-and-file member himself come into the picture, aside from voting? Does he belong to a local, the same as here?

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A. Yes, the basic organization of all the unions is the local. A minimum of 25 workers in an enterprise is necessary before a local can be chartered. The local executive board, consisting of 5 to 15 members, is elected by secret ballot for a one year term at a general membership meeting.

Q. Does the membership really have a say in large plants where it is impractical to handle the many matters with which the union is concerned at membership meetings?

A. Large plants have shop committees in every department or shop employing more than one hundred workers; if the department employs more than three hundred workers standing committees duplicating those in the local are set up. These shop committeemen are elected by the members they will serve, and not by the local as a whole. There are regular department and shop meetings where day-to-day problems of the membership are thrashed out.

Shop Stewards

Q. In the United States the union officer with whom the member is in closest contact is the shop steward. What about that, over there?

A. The Soviet version of the shop steward is the group organizer. There are group organizers in all unions, and there are a great many more of them than there are shop stewards here.

Q. How is that?

A. A group organizer is elected by every crew or gang—one for every five to twenty members.

Q. Do all these department and shop committees, and group organizers result in a top-heavy organization?

A. On the contrary, they result in a very democratic one, involving probably a larger proportion of the union membership in activity than in any other country. As a matter of fact, there are even more members involved in the regular work of operating the union than has been indicated so far, for the

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group organizer or shop steward has assisting him, in the larger groups, a dues collector, an insurance delegate, and a cultural organizer. If a man is responsible only for collecting dues from one or two dozen others, then the chances are that the dues are going to be collected, and that he will have time to do things beside this routine job.

Q. Are there central trade union bodies in the various cities?

A. Yes. These are delegated bodies similar to our own which take up matters of common interest to all unions in the given locality, particularly where municipal cooperation is desirable.

Dues

Q. How are the unions financed?

A. By initiation fees and dues, each of which is equal to one per cent of monthly earnings. For example, a man making $40.00 a week pays $1.75 initiation, and $1.75 monthly dues. If you change your trade and come under the jurisdiction of another union you pay no new initiation.

Q. Do the unions have any other source of income?

A. The employing enterprise must contribute to the union, by law, a sum equivalent to two per cent of payroll out of company funds, so that the union's total income is three per cent of payroll.

Q. Why does the company contribute to the union?

A. The "company" contribution is, in effect, an addition to payroll required by law, to enable the union to discharge its functions without unduly burdening its members.

Q. Who composes management?

A. Management in almost all cases consists of persons who were workers no more than ten or fifteen years ago, and who were educated and advanced to their present posts with the approval and very often at the suggestion of the unions.

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FUNCTION OF UNIONS

Q. Since the unions probably don't often have sharp differences with that kind of management, what are the unions for?

A. They exist for the same general purpose that we have them here: to further the welfare of their members, of all working people, and of their country.

Q. What are their main tasks?

A. The best answer to that is to list the standing committees existing in most locals:

1. There is a Wage Committee, which deals with rates, classifications, and related matters.
2. There is the Labor Protection Committee, which sees to the enforcement of laws governing hours, conditions, health, and safety.
3. The Welfare Committee looks after the workers' interests as consumers in such fields as housing, cafeteria service and the like, and also aids union members in need.
4. The Education and Recreation Committee runs the clubhouses and vacation camps owned by the unions.
5. The Social Insurance Committee, by law, handles sick and injury benefits, certain types of medical care, old age pensions, vacation pay, maternity leave, and similar matters.
6. The Production and Inventions Committee stimulates workers' suggestions, sees to it they are utilized and that the workers are remunerated for them. It also teaches newly-employed workers the tricks of the trade, and further increased output in every way.

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Collective Bargaining Procedure

Q. How are differences and grievances ironed out between the Union and the plant management?

A. Every Soviet plant has a Rates and Conflicts Commission, composed of equal numbers of representatives of labor and management. Labor's representatives are appointed by the shop committee from among its members or are elected by the membership, depending upon the size of the shop. In shops employing less than 100, there is a single delegate to the factory-wide Rates and Conflicts Commission.

Grievance Procedure

Q. Can you give some examples of how these commissions work?

A. The "Hammer and Sickle" works is the name of a big steel mill in Moscow. During the first three months of 1940 the Rates and Conflicts Commission handled 268 cases on which there had been disagreement at the lowest stage of grievance procedure—discussion between shop stward (group organizer) and foreman. The Commission decided in favor of the union in a slight majority of the cases.

Q. What kind of cases did the union win?

A. Here's an example. A worker named Merkulov was transferred to another shop from his job in the technical control department of this plant. The new job meant lower pay. At first glance it appeared as though management had simply exercised its right to move a man to the post where he was most needed. Investigation made it clear, however, that there was no real need for the transfer, and negotiation in the Rates and Conflicts Commission resulted in his return to his old job.

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Q. Evidently management has large powers. How does the union protect labor against the abuse of these powers, even if it be unintentional?

A. Here's another case in the same plant. A man named Volkov, with twelve years seniority and a good record, was fired for refusal to obey orders. The case was heard by a sub-committee consisting of a representative of management, and a member of the Executive Board of the local. The legal counsel for the plant was also present, as was the worker in question. The counsel claimed that Volkov had refused to do certain work when instructed to do so, and that his dismissal was, therefore justified. Volkov admitted refusing to work, but explained that, in the first place, he was being asked to do something outside his job. He would not have refused even then had he been on the job, but he was already at home, and was being called back to the plant after his shift was over. Even then he would not have refused, he said, but for the fact that the work in question did not require any special skill, but could have been done by any one else in the department. He wound up by asserting that the only reason he was called was that the shop management was inefficient, and didn't know how to make proper use of available labor. Counsel had no answer and he was reinstated.

Q. What happens when a satisfactory settlement cannot be reached through the Rates and Conflicts Commission?

A. The issue may then be taken to a Conciliation Board, having equal representation from the Union and management, or to a Tri-partite Arbitration Board which has an impartial chairman. These Boards are not permanent bodies but are set up to handle the particular case. Certain type of cases, as when a worker has been unable to recover back pay due him, may be taken directly to the courts.

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Q. Is there anything like our War Labor Board to handle major issues between the "companies" and their workers?

A. There is no need for a special wartime body, since the permanent administrative machinery is already equipped to handle such issues.

Nikolai Shvernik, head of the Soviet trade unions, sits on the permanent Economic Council of the Soviet Cabinet. With the exception of the Cabinet itself, this Council is the most important body dealing with economic matters. Thus Shvernik and the other trade union members of the Economic Council help formulate all government policy in the economic field, whether it has to do with labor, agriculture, finance or anything else. Through their elected leaders who are members of the Economic Council the unions exercise real control over every economic measure which affects their membership and the country as a whole.

The Economic Council also acts as a national labor board. For example, when the People's Commissariat of Trade issued an order revising all wage scales in restaurants, dining rooms and lunch counters, the matter was brought to the attention of the All-Union Central Committee of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), which found, upon investigation, that the order was objectionable. The case was argued before the Economic Council and the order was annulled.

Q. Have Soviet trade union leaders been elected to high public office?

A. Nikolai Shvernik is the elected chairman of the Council of Nationalities (roughly comparable to the United States Senate) which, with the Council of the Union, makes up the Supreme Soviet, the highest organ of state authority in the USSR. As such Shvernik presides over alternate sessions of the Supreme Soviet. The two Chambers have equal right to initiate legislation.

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Claudia Nikolaeva and P. T. Moskatov, the two other trade union leaders, who with Shvernik are secretaries of the All Union Council of Trade Unions, are members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet elected to act between its sessions. The Supreme Soviet corresponds to our Congress. A large proportion of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet are trade union workers.

Labor Press

Q. Granted that public ownership of industry and transport makes serious conflicts between labor and management unlikely, what means of publicity and pressure do the unions have to bring injustices to light and compel action on them?

A. The unions have access, as do all Soviet organization named in Article 126 of the Constitution, quoted above, to "printing presses, stocks of paper, public buildings, the streets, communications facilities and other material requisites for the exercise of these (civil) rights." (Article 125). In actual fact, the AUCCTU publishes one of the most influential daily newspapers in the USSR, *Trud* (Labor), as well as the fortnightly *War and the Working Class,* whose articles on foreign affairs are widely quoted abroad. In addition to these general workers' papers, there are, of course, papers published by the separate unions and the famous *Wall Newspapers* posted everywhere in the factories.

Q. How do these publications serve to protect conditions of labor?

A. *Trud* recently carried the following story. Young workers just out of trade school were given jobs in the Karaganda coal mines east of the Urals. Management, overburdened with the job of getting enough coal out of the ground to replace some of the capacity lost when the Germans took over the Donbass district of the Ukraine, failed to arrange adequate housing for these new workers. As a result, many of them drifted away to other jobs. Although wartime legislation, proposed by the

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unions themselves, prohibits workers from leaving their jobs, these workers were not punished, because the fault lay with management. On the other hand, the union's exercise of what here would be called "political" pressure, through exposing this management to public opinion and calling its negligence to the attention of the proper government authorities, resulted in correcting these bad housing conditions.

Absence of Strikes

Q. In peacetime, would the workers have resorted to a strike?

A. No, even though there is not and has never been any anti-strike legislation in the USSR. There is no basic difference in the relations between management and labor in wartime or peacetime. There is no reason for labor and management to be hostile to each other under any circumstances, although unions are quick to criticize management for any inefficiency or failure properly to protect the workers' interests. In wartime, the greater the level of production, the faster the enemy will be defeated. In peacetime, the greater the level of production, the higher wages go, since an incentive wage system is in force at all times.

Unemployment

Q. Doesn't this result in overproduction and unemployment?

A. No, because the people's ownership of industry permits over-all planning. There is never any unemployment, and Soviet labor does not fear increased production, but seeks it, since it results in a steadily rising standard of living. Since there is a basic harmony of interest between Soviet labor and management, and since the unions are so strong numerically, peaceful means of public discussion, arbitration, or government action under labor laws drawn up entirely in the interest of the

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workers practically always result in a satisfactory solution of any differences.

Contracts

Q. Do they have no need then for regular contracts between labor and management defining the relations between the two?

A. Yes, there are contracts which are bargained for collectively. However, contracts have a somewhat different significance in the USSR than they do here.

Q. Why?

A. Because the trade unions themselves since 1933, when the Department of Labor was dissolved, have been the administrative agents of the government in all matters pertaining to safety, social insurance and labor law. They okay payroll schedules drawn up by the State Planning Commission before they go to the Cabinet for final action; they themselves draft the annual appropriation bill for social insurance and the schedule of taxes to be paid; they make the safety rules and enforce them by a system of fines which the union's inspectors may levy on management and labor alike, and by court action when necessary.

Because these laws, privileges and administrative responsibilities form, in themselves, a series of nation-wide "contracts" stabilizing management-labor relations, there is less need for formal local agreements. Between 1934 and 1938, when both the unions and the wage system were undergoing a considerable reorganization, no contracts were concluded, although this in no way interfered with the continual rise in wages and improvements in the workers' conditions. At the end of 1938, after careful study of conditions of work and wages in the Stalin Auto Works at Moscow, a collective agreement was drawn up for this enterprise, and was submitted to the Economic Council for approval as a standard contract capable of serving as a framework for others throughout industry.

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Q. How do the Soviet themselves describe their collective agreements?

A. An official Soviet Almanac for 1940 describes "Collective Agreements in the USSR" (as a) "two-sided contract concluded by a trade union in the name of the workers and employees it represents, with the management of an enterprise or office. Collective agreements cover the mutual rights and responsibilities of workers, employees and management in the fulfillment of the economic plan, and define the conditions of work and wages of the workers and employees."

Hiring

Q. Are workers hired through a union hiring hall?

A. No. Before the permanent elimination of unemployment in 1929, there existed government labor exchanges, which were very often managed by persons nominated by the trade unions. Since then, the continual shortage of labor, resulting from the fact that Soviet economy is always expanding, is in itself protection against the abuses which unions in our country seek to correct through the device of hiring halls.

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WAGES, HOURS AND WORKING CONDITIONS

Length of Working Day

Q. Did the labor shortage result in a long working day?

A. On the contrary, for many years before the war Soviet labor had the shortest working day in the world, seven hours being the maximum, while many entire industries worked only six hours a day. Only in 1940 did the unions themselves propose that the day be lengthened to eight hours, in order to enable the country to arm adequately in the face of Hitler's control of all the munitions plants of Europe. At that time a 48-hour week went into effect. When the Soviet Union was attacked in 1941, management was given the right to order overtime work up to three hours a day (11 hours in all)—a right which it did not possess in peacetime. Overtime is paid at time-and-one-half.

Vacations

Q. How about vacations?

A. Every single worker of the thirty million engaged in the factories, mills, mines and offices of the USSR received before the war an annual vacation with pay of between two and four weeks. In wartime they get equivalent vacation bonuses instead.

Wages and Rates

Q. How about wages?

A. Wages rose 34% in the three years from 1937 to 1940, maintaining an upward trend that began with the establishment of the Soviet government in 1917.

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Q. But what about real wages—has the standard of living risen?

A. Definitely yes. The basis for this rise in the standard of living is the unprecedentedly rapid expansion of both industry and agriculture in what had been a very backward country. For example, as against 1913, the best year under the Tsar, the grain crop, the fish haul, and the output of cotton textiles each rose 50% under the Soviet Government. The output of socks and stockings doubled in the eight years, 1932-40. The refining of sugar doubled from 1913 to 1940. Milk and meat production each rose 50% from 1932, while 15 times as much candy was manufactured in 1938 as in 1913. The construction of modern housing has gone on at a rate unparalleled in the rest of the world. Generally speaking, the *rate of improvement* of the conditions of the Soviet worker during the last 25 years by far surpasses that recorded in any other country at any time, even under the most favorable conditions.

Q. What role do the local unions play in fixing wages?

A. Each local has a Wage Committee, which takes up such matters as classifications and scales. This committee pays particular attention to incentive rates. A new schedule proposed for one classification at the Stalin Auto Works at Moscow, for example, and accepted by management, increased the piece rate by 25% for the first 5% of extra output beyond the basic schedule. If the worker produces 25% more than he is required to, the rate is raised 50%. This new schedule resulted in an actual increase of 50% in average monthly earnings for the workers in this classification.

Q. What about industry-wide rates?

A. The wage departments of the national offices of the various unions help management to set classifications and adjust inequalities in the scales of various categories. They share control of the regulation of wages with management on an industry-

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wide and regional basis within the framework of existing legislation and the total payroll allotted to the industry. They also check on actual wages paid to make sure that workers receive the amounts to which they are entitled fully and on time. Finally, they determine, jointly with management, the daily work quotas to be expected of workers in each category. Thus, there is comprehensive collective bargaining on wages.

Q. But who fixes the size of the payroll in any industry? This would seem to be very important for the workers.

A. The amount of money to be paid out in wages in all of industry throughout the USSR and in each individual branch of industry is first worked out by the State Planning Commission of the government. The report of this commission, insofar as it deals with the total national annual payroll, the total number of workers to be employed in industry, and the expected productivity per worker, is then submitted to the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions for study. It is the planners' proposals, and the recommendations of the AUCCTU resulting from this study that form the basis of the government's legislation on these matters. Thus the trade unions are in on the ground floor in this field as well.

Safety and Health

Q. How do the unions safeguard working conditions?

A. The Labor Protection Committee in each local sees to the enforcement of all regulations governing hours, health and safety, and other working conditions. This committee has the right to examine the books of the enterprise to determine whether the funds appropriated by the government for any of the above purposes are being properly spent. It works out with management the actual safety measures applied in the plant, and sees to it that management provides the workers with the free working clothes to which they are entitled. It selects its

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own safety inspectors, for a one-year period. These union inspectors have access to any part of the plant at any hour of the day or night. They have power to levy fines for infraction of safety laws and, with the agreement of the government labor inspectors who cover a number of plants and who are also appointed by the unions, may prosecute cases under the law when such action is necessary.

Q. How can government inspectors be appointed by the unions?

A. The functions of the Soviet Department of Labor were turned over to the unions when that body was dissolved in 1933. Incidentally, it was dissolved for the very simple reason that it was felt that the unions could look after the workers' interests better than any outside agency. American unionists have frequently expressed this point of view.

The national and regional committees of the unions appoint labor inspectors, paid by the Government, who must first pass civil service examinations to determine their competence. In 1938 there were 5,124 such labor inspectors as compared to 197 under the Tsar. Rules covering standards of safety and cleanliness, and providing for the kind of safety equipment, work clothing and other safety measures to be employed, are drafted by the national committees of the respective trade unions, in consultation with the corresponding employing organization. No new machine may be produced until a union-operated labor protection institute has tested it and certified that it is safe to operate.

This work has not suffered in wartime. Mikhail Tarasov, head of the USSR Railwaymen's Union, found, in a tour made jointly with J. H. Potts, President of the British National Union of Railwaymen, that injuries in 1942 were 30 to 50% less than in 1941, as a result of the workers' greater alertness and the application of safety measures.

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Q. What about health hazards to the workers?

A. There is a Central Institute for Labor Hygiene and Occupational Diseases situated in Moscow, with branches now functioning (1943) in Leningrad, Gorky on the Volga, Sverdlovsk in the Urals and Novosibirsk in Siberia. It is now devoting its attention to problems arising in war industry. Its plan of studies for this year includes "oxygen hunger" caused by certain poisonous substances, liver disorders and kidney diseases. These problems have arisen mainly in the tank arsenals, munitions plants, chemical and non-ferrous metals industries. The Institute also concerns itself with the problems arising from the employment of large numbers of workers 16 to 18 years old, in order to protect their normal physical development. Special problems connected with the employment of women are also studied.

Q. What are the practical results of this work?

A. The Director of this institute, Professor Z. Smelyansky, was asked this very question in a recent interview. Here is his answer:

"A good example is the case of one Moscow plant in which workers engaged in a certain industrial process were found to suffer from a liver ailment. We took this matter up with the plant management and now about 70% of the operations in that department have been mechanized. The workers have been placed under medical observation and are receiving prophylactic treatment as well as special food."

Housing

Q. What do the unions do to represent the worker off the job, as consumer, in the housing field, for example?

A. They did a great deal in peacetime, but what they have been able to accomplish in wartime, in the face of seemingly insuperable obstacles of evacuation and crowding, is most re-

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markable. Former Ambassador Joseph E. Davies, describing his recent visit to the Urals industrial region, reports that:

"Hundreds of large two-and-a-half-story brick houses in whole sub-divisions for miles on end, had been erected in 18 months for these workers."

"Hundreds of large two-and-a-half-story brick houses in of plant management. However the union's Welfare Committee, which deals with all consumer problems, is in on the ground floor on all decisions regarding the location and types of apartment and public service buildings to be erected. The unions inspect construction and repair to make sure that it is satisfactory. The union participates in the distribution of housing space to workers' families. It checks up on rents to make sure that they do not exceed the rates fixed by law.

Rent

Q. What percentage of his income does the Soviet worker pay for rent?

A. *Four and three-tenths per cent* on the average. Even with such low rentals the unions keep their eyes open to see that rents and other services do not exceed the legal maximum, not only on a local, but on a national scale. For example, early in 1940, the People's Commissariat of Light Industries raised the rates charged for electricity and other services in apartment buildings under its jurisdiction. The AUCCTU held that the increases were unjust, and took the case to the Economic Council of the Soviet Cabinet. The unions were upheld, and the increases rescinded. It will be remembered that Nikolai Shvernik, head of the trade unions, sits on this Council.

Consumer Services

Q. Does the membership get a chance to bring forward their individual complaints as consumers?

A. In peacetime they did this through the standing Welfare

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Committees in the locals. But the hardships of war have so increased the unions' need to deal with consumer problems that most locals now hold monthly membership meetings to deal exclusively with these problems (aside from their regular business meetings). At these meetings the managers of the cafeterias, retail stores, vegetable and dairy farms, tailoring, shoe repair, laundering and other establishments serving the workers of the given plant get up and render account of the efficiency and adequacy of their services, and explain the reasons, as they see it, for any failures in service. Then the union membership gets up and gives its opinion, commending those who have done well, criticizing those who have offered no valid explanation for poor service, airing complaints and grievances. In the interim between meetings special commissions and inspectors elected by the membership go to work to see to it that the recommendations of the meeting have been carried out. They inspect cafeteria food before and after it is cooked for quantity and quality, test weights and measures in the stores, demand cleanliness in warehouses, and so forth.

Q. Do the unions have any real authority in these matters?

A. They have behind them the legal authority of the government which issued this year a special order authorizing the unions to inspect all services to urban consumers. They also have the cooperation and support of the Communist Party, whose newspaper, *Pravda,* wrote last January:

"Care for the workers' living needs is not a luxury, as some bureaucrats think, but an inseparable part of our struggle for victory. Now, more than ever before, care for the working people's needs will result in increased output of arms and ammunition. The worker who arrives late at the factory because transportation is poor, or who cannot get proper rest because his lodgings are dirty or not properly heated, cannot give his best to his job. The primary responsibility for maintaining the standards of the working people rests on local Soviets and the trade

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unions. Trade union officials must be concerned not only with the place where the worker does his job, but with the place where he lives and sleeps. The eyes of the trade unions must be everywhere—on the warehouse, on the larder, on the saucepan in the kitchen."

Personal Loans

Q. Speaking of the workers' interests as a consumer, is there any way in which the unions help, or can secure help, for members in need?

A. Since employers' contributions make the income of Soviet trade unions about three times what they would be from dues alone, this committee has funds on hand to extend financial assistance to workers who need it.

Q. Like a fraternal order here?

A. Yes. To cite a specific example from the experience of the Stalin Auto Works, there was the case of a 45-year-old woman worker with an invalid husband and four children. Her wages and his pension together were insufficient to maintain the family properly. Not only did she get a loan from the Union Welfare Committee when she asked for it, but members of the committee who kept in touch with her secured additional loans when they saw she needed them, although she herself asked for money only once. Further, through the efforts of the committee, her youngest child was placed in a day nursery, the second youngest, in a kindergarten, and the third, a gifted pianist at the age of 14, in a music school.

Q. For what purposes can you get a loan from a Union?

A. Loans are made for a variety of purposes. During the war the unions have helped their members get gardening tools and seed. The files of the Stalin Works Committee cited above show that, in peacetime, loans were made for the following purposes, among others: One worker, who needed 800 rubles to re-

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place furniture destroyed by fire, received 550 as an outright gift and the remainder as a loan; a woman was loaned 200 rubles to buy her daughter a graduation present. Loans were made to enable the parents of a worker to visit Moscow, and others to cover summer vacation expenses.

Social Insurance

Q. Much is heard of the social insurance system in the Soviet Union. What voice do the unions have in its operation?

A. Soviet trade unions, in addition to carrying out all the formal functions of unions that have already been described, are, at the same time, the equivalent of our Department of Labor, Social Security Board, Federal Security Agency, fraternal orders and insurance companies. When the Department of Labor was dissolved in 1933, and its functions and prerogatives were turned over to the labor movement, the AUCCTU acquired the right to draft the annual government appropriation bill for social insurance and the schedule of taxes to be paid toward this end by the employing enterprises. *The workers and the unions pay nothing.* Some idea of the scope of the benefits provided will be gained from the fact that this tax, which varies from industry to industry and is paid into the unions' treasuries, runs as high as 10.7% of payroll, not one penny of which has to be paid out as unemployment insurance.

Q. What is it spent for, then?

A. Take, for example, a report recently submitted by the President of the Railway Equipment Workers' Union, Boris Sedunov, which has jurisdiction over railway shops, equipment workers, and locomotive and car building plants. In the first six months of 1942 one-third of his union's social insurance expenditures were for illness and accident insurance, another third went to old age pensions, with the remainder paying benefits to women workers on maternity leave, buying layettes

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for newly-born infants, providing extra living allowances to mothers of large families, and maintaining vacation camps, sanatoria and other institutions established by law to safeguard the workers' health.

Q. Have they kept this up in wartime?

A. Yes. In 1943 the unions sent 465,000 children to summer camps. The unions' over-all social insurance budget, which was 9,698,340,000 rubles in 1941, rose to almost 12 billion in the war year of 1942.

Q. What part does the local play in all this?

A. More than a million union members throughout the Soviet Union serve on the locals' Social Insurance Committees, which disburse these benefits. A worker who falls sick is visited by a member of the committee, who finds out what sort of assistance he needs. Upon presentation of a doctor's certificate stating that it will be necessary for him to remain away from work, the committee member arranges for sick benefit payments, which range from 50 to 100% of average pay, depending upon seniority. (The doctor's services are given without charge. This, however, is paid for not out of the social insurance funds administered by the union, but by the government Department of Health.)

Sick Benefits

Q. What if the illness causes expenses greater than the sick benefits?

A. If the illness causes special expenses beyond that which can be covered out of the sick benefit, the social insurance committee provides this as well. If the illness is protracted, the social insurance committee arranges for hospital or sanatorium care. Hospital care is free of charge. In a sanatorium the social insurance fund generally pays ¾ of the cost, while the worker

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pays the remaining ¼ out of his sick benefit. There is no shortage of these facilities in peacetime, although in wartime many health facilities have been requisitioned for the wounded. But in 1939, for example, sanatorium care was provided for 600 workers from a single Moscow steel mill. This does not indicate a high degree of illness—the opposite is the case—but an abundance of facilities to catch illness before it is far advanced, and to give proper treatment. Whenever a worker is badly run down he is sent to a rest home in order to prevent serious illness taking place.

Disability Benefits

Q. What about permanent disability?

A. Lifetime payments for permanent and complete disability run from 60% to 100% of former earnings depending on circumstances. If disability is partial, that is, if the worker is able to perform some work, then the social insurance fund makes up the difference between his present earnings and his former average earnings in the form of a permanent pension. If he is capable of learning skilled work which will restore his earning capacity, but requires special training outside his former field, the social insurance fund provides for this training.

The social insurance committee also has functions that pertain to actual work in the plant. For example, with the force of law behind it, it arranges for pregnant women to be transferred to lighter work, when this is necessary. In such cases, their previous rate of pay continues, if it is higher.

The annual vacations with pay are also regarded as social insurance. The committee handles workers' requests for reservations in summer camps, and pays a good part of the cost involved. In one typical large plant the social insurance committee pays the entire cost of half of the workers' stay at its camp, while the other half of the workers, whose incomes are higher,

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are asked to pay approximately 30% of the cost of their maintenance. About one-fourth of the personnel of this plant spend their vacations at this "rest home," as they are called, each year.

Q. Is there a waiting period before payments are due on accident or sickness benefits?

A. No. The worker in case of accident receives compensation from the time of the accident. He is also paid benefits from the beginning of his illness even if he is taken sick on the way to or from work.

Education and Recreation

Q. What provisions do the unions make for leisure-time activities during the other eleven months of the year, when the worker is on the job?

A. This comes within the scope of the Educational and Recreation Committee of the local. The facilities at the disposal of the Soviet trade unions for what they call cultural work are very large. The smallest shop or department of a factory has a clubroom with library and recreational facilities. The union local in any enterprise of considerable size owns a clubhouse, having regular performances of movie and stage plays. It has dances, a gymnasium, billiard tables, bowling alleys, ball teams, chess clubs, classes in music, arts and dramatics, rifle teams and about anything else the members desire.

The clubhouses of really large plants, those whose payroll runs into the thousands, are called Palaces of Culture. These are light, airy buildings of glass and concrete, with marble columns, well-designed lighting, parquet floors, fine paneling and rich furnishings, set in spacious, well-kept grounds. The equipment of these buildings varies with the desire of the unions that built them, but they have been known to house even astronomical observatories for the use of workers studying the sciences during their leisure hours.

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"Culture" is the proper word for activities carried on in these buildings. Lectures on everything from classical literature to the falsity of Hitler's race theory compete for attention with concerts by the finest singers and musicians. One Soviet artist recently bought a tank for the Red Army with the money he earned last year singing for the miners, steel workers and munitions makers of the Urals. Even in the areas to which industry has been evacuated in wartime, huge timber clubhouses go up as soon as the plant itself and the workers' housing has been built. In 1940 the unions owned 6,000 clubhouses and Palaces of Culture, 15,000 libraries and 10,000 movie projectors. They also ran 100,000 clubrooms on factory premises.

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LABOR AND THE WAR EFFORT

Donations and the War Services

Q. How have the unions been active in war work?

A. In a thousand and one ways. Huge donations have been made by individuals and organizations to the defense fund, including 100,000,000 rubles out of the treasury of the AUCCTU. Nursing and nurses' aid courses have been organized in all union headquarters, factory recreation rooms and workers' clubs. Women workers and workers' wives in tens of thousands have taken these courses which are conducted under a uniform program planned by the Soviet Red Cross.

The unions work closely with the hospitals in their vicinity, many of the women doing volunteer work after working hours. A union local may "adopt" a hospital, making itself responsible for books, entertainment, gifts for the wounded, and acting as a grievance committee for all the patients! In many cases they have provided even the building itself, as well as the personnel, by turning over their own sanatoria.

Blood Donors, Victory Gardens

In addition, Soviet trade unions have organized various other wartime activities: extensive blood-donorship programs among their members; collection of scrap, particularly by the children; training for civilian defense work in the factory; providing practical assistance to the military boards under which all men between 16 and 50 learn military fundamentals, and ensuring instruction and financial aid to workers setting up their own vegetable gardens.

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War Production

Q. Labor's biggest job today is producing for war. Do the Russian unions have a special mechanism through which the workers contribute to increasing production?

A. Yes. The Production Committee in each local.

Q. Would that be something like our labor-management committees over here—where they exist?

A. Yes. In the Soviet Union they exist everywhere, and function very well. They do their job of increasing production in two ways. One is by means of education, through publications, classes, lectures by skilled workers, engineers and by Stakhanovites.

Q. What's a Stakhanovite?

A. A worker who uses his head as well as his hands, and by means of adding special jigs of his own design to his machine, or by reorganizing the machines he serves—if he serves more than one—or by arranging to perform successive operations on different machines, or by any other means, turns out two or five or ten times as much as is required. The first man to do this was a coal miner named Stakhanov. It is the practice for the Soviet worker, with the aid of the Union and the Management to train other workers in his new and more efficient methods. This results, of course, in greater financial return to the workers so trained.

Q. Is the worker free to move machines around as he likes? Besides, doesn't that require the work of other men, riggers, and so forth?

A. Exactly. That's where the cooperation of management comes in. When a worker has an idea of that sort, if it involves any change in the process of production, he discusses it with his foreman or the chief engineer of this shop. If they agree, the change is made. If they don't agree, he may bring it before the

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Production Committee of the union, which can take it up with management further up the scale. It is in his interest to increase production, because of the incentive wage system in force, as well as because of his interest in rapid victory over the enemy, and in the furtherance of the general welfare in peacetime through faster output. Likewise, if he makes an invention of any kind, it is the job of the Production Committee to see to it that it is made use of, as well as to protect his financial rights as an inventor.

Q. What other means are there to stimulate production?

A. Competition, or, as the Russians call it, socialist emulation. Individuals, gangs, departments and entire factories challenge each other and sign definite agreements in which they pledge to outdo one another in actual output, in holding down the cost of production, in eliminating waste, in training new workers, and so on.

A very important means of furthering production is the production conference. These are general meetings of the personnel of a shop, department, or factory, with management represented, at which current problems of production are discussed. Many is the bottleneck that has been broken through the expression of the workers' practical experience at these meetings.

Labor Supply

Q. The expansion of armed forces normally threatens to have an adverse effect upon production because of labor shortage. The Russians seem to have maintained and even greatly increased production despite the fact that they have probably mobilized a larger proportion of their manpower than we. How was that done?

A. Largely through the workers' own initiative. As workers were drafted, those remaining on the job pledged that there would be no fall in output. They took on the quotas of those

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who had left in addition to their own. Thus there was born the "200%er" movement. With the aid and encouragement of the unions and on the basis of an understanding with management that existing piece-rates and bonus arrangements would not be cut, the movement became countrywide. Today there are hundreds of thousands of "200%ers." As a result of this and other movements, average productivity per worker has risen enormously.

Women in Industry

Q. It is said that the Soviet Union makes much more extensive use of female labor than we do here. Is that true?

A. Yes, but there is quite a story behind that. Women don't come into industry automatically. The unions sponsored a movement of wives and sisters of men in the forces, urging them to take over their men's jobs. Committees corresponding to women's auxiliaries in American trade unions did much of the work of canvassing the relatives of mobilized men, telling them about neighbors and friends who were operating machines formerly their husbands' and brothers', and bringing the women to the plants' employment offices. In other cases, the men who were drafted would themselves recruit their wives into factory jobs. By March of 1942, 45% of all workers and employees were women, and today the number is probably well over half, while in the U. S. only about one-fourth of our industrial labor force is composed of women. Soviet women workers invariably get equal pay for equal work. This is guaranteed in the Soviet Constitution. (Article 122).

Child Care

Q. What about women with children to take care of?

A. Nursery schools run by the unions on government-management funds supplemented by parents fees are present in every large plant and free mothers of worry for their children's

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welfare. There are also numerous cases where factories permit women with large family responsibilities to work half a shift per week, thus earning some money, making some contribution to the war effort, and yet not unduly exhausting themselves.

Q. Don't these new workers drag down the level of efficiency of the whole? It's difficult to understand how average productivity could have increased so greatly in the face of so large an influx of new people.

A. Due to the urgencies of war, new training methods have been evolved. One such method, widely adopted, consists of assigning each learner to one skilled worker, with the incentive of a bonus to the teacher for each worker successfully trained, and to the learner for the speed with which he masters the work. Wasted effort is cut to a minimum under this set-up, for the instructor works while he teaches, and the learner performs simple operations, such as throwing the switch, or feeding, from the first day he is on the job.

Labor Productivity

Q. What have been the results of these methods?

A. The year 1942 showed an increase in labor productivity of 15% in the armaments industry, 30% in aircraft, 38% in the tank arsenals and 46% in the light industries. The workers' sacrifices, plus the encouragement given to their initiative, plus the new methods of training pushed 75% more tanks out of the factory gates in 1942 than in 1941.

One Final Question

Q. Are the Soviet trade unions the kind of bodies with which American trade unions should be willing to be associated in winning the war and maintaining the peace to follow?

A. We'll let the answer to that question rest on the record of the Soviet trade unions as set forth in this pamphlet.

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Partial List of Soviet Trade Unions and Their Officers

The Trade Union Panel at the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of diplomatic relations between the two countries proposed that the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship lend its services to promoting correspondence between American and Soviet trade unions. The list printed in this pamphlet is to facilitate such correspondence. If you are addressing a Soviet trade union we suggest that in addition to listing the name of the union and the chairman, where the chairman's name is available, you also address your letter care of VOKS, Moscow. It might be helpful if your letter in the first instance were sent to the National Council Office, 232 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y., to be forwarded from here.

CONSUMERS COOPERATIVE EMPLOYEES
HIGHWAY AND HYDROTECHNIC CONSTRUCTION WORKERS
LOCOMOTIVE AND CAR BUILDING WORKERS UNION
Boris Sedunov, *Chairman*
MUNICIPAL HOUSING CONSTRUCTION WORKERS
RAILROAD BUILDING WORKERS UNION
Mikhail Tarasov, *Chairman*
RAILWAY AND SUBWAY CONSTRUCTION WORKERS UNION
Klavdia Vassilieva, *Chairman*
UNION OF INDUSTRIAL CONSTRUCTION WORKERS
Vassili Minin, *Chairman*
COPPER WORKERS
DAIRY WORKERS
ELEMENTARY AND HIGH SCHOOL PERSONNEL
PERSONNEL OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS
POLITICAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS PERSONNEL
EMPLOYEES OF PRE-SCHOOL INSTITUTIONS
ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT WORKERS
FILM STUDIO EMPLOYEES
FIRE PROTECTION WORKERS
FIRE RESISTANT MINERALS WORKERS
FISHERIES WORKERS
FLOUR MILL AND ELEVATOR WORKERS
FOREIGN COMMERCE EMPLOYEES
FUR WORKERS UNION
Gregori Petelin, *Chairman*
FURNITURE AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENT WORKERS
GEOLOGIC PROSPECTING PERSONNEL
GLASS WORKERS

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GOLD AND PLATINUM WORKERS UNION
Ibraham Enikeyev, *Chairman*
IRON AND STEEL WORKERS
FINANCIAL AND BANKING EMPLOYEES
LUMBER WORKERS UNION
Leonid Markov, *Chairman*
LUMBER FELLING AND FLOATING WORKERS
LUMBER MILL AND WOOD WORKERS
LEATHER WORKERS UNION
George Kudrystzev, *Chairman*
LIQUOR DISTILLERY AND WINE WORKERS
LOW VOLTAGE ELECTRICAL INDUSTRY WORKERS
HEAVY MACHINE BUILDING WORKERS UNION
Roman Grankin, *Chairman*
MEDIUM MACHINE BUILDING WORKERS UNION
Gregory Novozhilov, *Chairman*
ELECTRIC MACHINE BUILDING WORKERS UNION
Moses Ostashingsky, *Chairman*
MACHINE TOOL WORKERS
Vassili Aksenov, *Chairman*
TRANSPORT MACHINERY WORKERS
AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY WORKERS
MACHINE AND TRACTOR STATION WORKERS
MATCH AND PLYWOOD WORKERS
MEAT AND COLD STORAGE WORKERS
MEDICAL AND SANITATION PERSONNEL
METAL PRODUCTS WORKERS UNION
Semyon Babyan, *Chairman*
METAL WORKERS UNION
Ivan Anjipov, *Chairman*
POLYMETTALIC INDUSTRY WORKERS
MINERAL FERTILIZER AND SODA PRODUCTS WORKERS
MUNICIPAL WORKERS
NITROGEN AND SPECIAL (WAR) CHEMICAL WORKERS
OIL WORKERS
PETROLEUM REFINERY WORKERS
PAINT AND PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY WORKERS
PAPER WORKERS
WORKERS OF THE POLYGRAPHIC INDUSTRY
PORCELAIN WORKERS
POWER STATION WORKERS
PRECISION INSTRUMENT WORKERS UNION
Mikhail Stepanov, *Chairman*
EMPLOYEES OF THE PRESS AND PUBLISHING INDUSTRY
PUBLIC RESTAURANT EMPLOYEES
PUBLIC HEALTH AND SANITATION PERSONNEL

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PUBLIC SERVICE WORKERS
RAILWAY WORKERS
RUBBER WORKERS UNION
Ivan Ivanov, *Chairman*
SALT WORKERS
SEAMEN'S UNION
Zhdanov, *Chairman*
RIVER TRANSPORT WORKERS
MARITIME TRANSPORT WORKERS
NORTHERN SEA ROUTE PERSONNEL
TEXTILE WORKERS UNION
Anna Rezchikova, *Chairman*
COTTON TEXTILE WORKERS
COTTON GIN WORKERS
LINEN TEXTILE WORKERS
HEMP WORKERS
SILK WORKERS
KNITGOOD WORKERS
WOOL WORKERS UNION
Anastasia Nykitina, *Chairman*
STATE BEET FARM WORKERS
STATE COTTON FARM AND MACHINE-TRACTOR STATION WORKERS
STATE FUR AND BIRD FARM WORKERS
STATE GRAIN FARM WORKERS
STATE HOG FARM WORKERS
STATE HORSEBREEDING FARM WORKERS
STATE MEAT AND DAIRY FARM WORKERS
STATE ORCHARD AND VEGETABLE WORKERS
STATE SHEEP FARM WORKERS
STATE VEGETABLE FARM WORKERS
SHIPBUILDING WORKERS
SHOE WORKERS UNION
Parmeniuk Aslonov, *Chairman*
SUGAR REFINERY WORKERS
TEA INDUSTRY AND SUB-TROPICAL CULTURE STATE FARM WORKERS
TOBACCO INDUSTRY WORKERS
TOOL INDUSTRY WORKERS
TRACTOR WORKERS
AUTOMOBILE TRANSPORT WORKERS UNION
Stepan Trukhanov, *Chairman*
MUNICIPAL ELECTRIC TRANSPORT WORKERS
WAR SUPPLIES WORKERS
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL WORKERS
EMPLOYEES OF AGRICULTURAL OFFICES

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AIRCRAFT BUILDING WORKERS UNION
ALEXANDER WASSERMAN, *Chairman*
ARMAMENT WORKERS UNION OF U.S.S.R.
KIM AGADJANOV, *Chairman*
MUNITION WORKERS UNION OF U.S.S.R.
EUGENE BAZHENIN, *Chairman*
WORKERS IN THE ARTS
AUTOMOBILE UNION
PETER BORISOV, *Chairman*
AVIATION EMPLOYEES UNION
IVAN ZUBRLIN, *Chairman*
BAKERY WORKERS
BARBERS, PUBLIC BATH-HOUSE AND LAUNDRY WORKERS
BOOK SHOP WORKERS
BREWERY AND MOLASSES WORKERS
BUILDING SERVICE EMPLOYEES (Private housing, not public buildings)
BUILDING MATERIALS WORKERS
CANDY WORKERS
CANNERY WORKERS
VEGETABLE OIL AND FAT WORKERS
CEMENT INDUSTRY WORKERS
SPECIAL CHEMISTRY WORKERS UNION
JACOB KACHAN, *Chairman*
ORGANIC CHEMISTRY WORKERS UNION
ALEXEI ORLOV, *Chairman*
COAL MINERS
IRON ORE MINERS
METAL MINERS (NON-IRON)
NON-FERROUS METAL SMELTERS
PEAT WORKERS
COKE AND CHEMICAL WORKERS
CLOTHING WORKERS
NEEDLE WORKERS UNION
ANASTASIA MALKOVA, *Chairman*
CHAUFFEURS (TRUCK, BUS, CAB)
COMMUNICATIONS WORKERS UNION
NIKOLAI BAGHGORSKY, *Chairman*

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Other Council Publications

Soviet Constitution

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Soviet Russia and the Post-War World

by CORLISS LAMONT

10c

Soviet Children and Their Care

by ROSE MAURER

10c

Drama in Wartime Russia

by H. W. L. DANA

15c

A Family of Nations, The Soviet Union

10c

U.S.A. — U.S.S.R.

Addresses by

Harold L. Ickes, Ambassador Andrei A. Gromyko, Donald M. Nelson, Joseph E. Davies and others at the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, held in New York City, November 6-8, 1943

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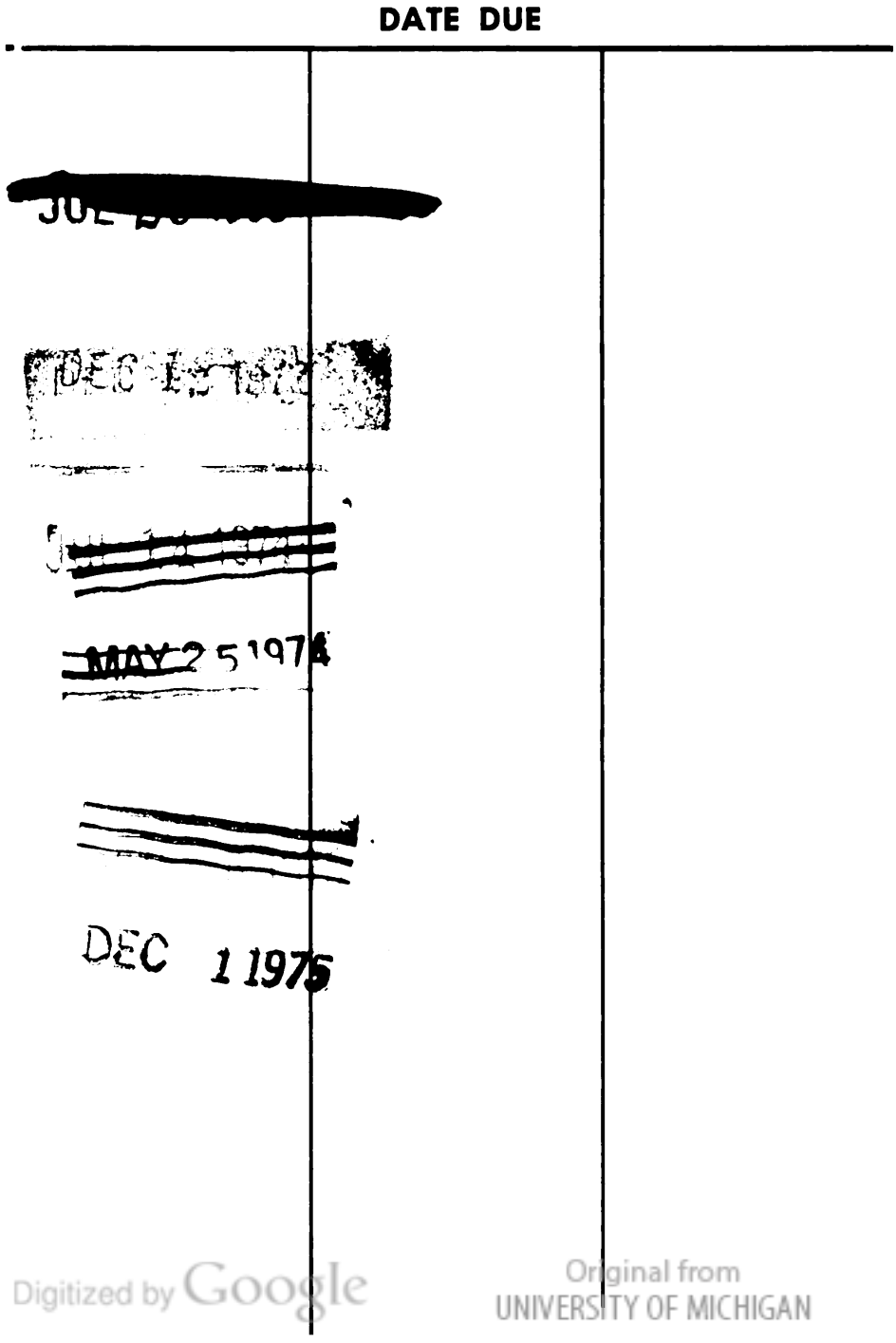

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